

In this trial, which is now drawing to a close, we have been presented at a further attempt to affirm the conclusion and a distorted history of the ER experience; so as the attempt to use this opportunity to rethrow the political attack against the guerrilla through proposals of pacification and 'political solution'. Therefore we regard as necessary ~~in~~ making some precise ~~statements~~ ~~in this regard~~ about these matters.

Since their constitution, the Red Brigades pursued the strategy of the protracted class-war, in the fundamental form of the metropolitan guerrilla, to overthrow the present political and social system, to throw down a State with a democracy representative of the advanced capitalism and to realize a way of production and of life which is freed from the various forms of oppression. On the basis of this strategic orientation and, above all, on the basis of the praxis, a revolutionary process has begun in Italy.

Because of objective and subjective conditions, of internal and international order, there wasn't, and there isn't, the power to arrive at a swift overthrow of the present reality. The times of the revolutionary transformation of the society are long, but the guerrilla is strategically and tactically indispensable to accelerate, strengthen and direct the process of the proletarian and social liberation from the barbarousness of a more and more rotten and inhuman system.

Just for this purpose the ER/PCC continue to act - they never ~~will~~ off doing it - in spite of the assassinations, the tortures, the arrest and the hard conditions in which the communist fighters had to act, in front of the counter-revolution in these years.

During ~~the~~ 1988 there were dozens of arrests of ER/PCC comrades and other revolutionary militants. For this reason the boards of the anti-guerrilla and the secret services hoped to use the trial for 'insurrection' as a big mass-mediate spectacle in which it was possible to advertise that who abjure the present and future necessity of the guerrilla.

If this counter-revolutionary hope didn't come true in the augured way, this is so, above all, because, outside this courtroom-bunker, the ER/PCC continue to struggle; but this is so also because in this trial there are many prisoners who refused and refuse to sell their own ideas in exchange for some personal privilege and who, yet in different ways, defended and defend their own communist and revolutionary identity.

In these years the State made all the possible for trying to destroy the identity of the prisoners of the guerrilla and the revolutionary movement. It deepened the differentiation of the treatment, by giving wide privileges to the ex-revolutionary prisoners. It used the torture and the law in behalf of the ~~disassociated~~ 'repentants' in a complementary way. It made a law in behalf of the 'disassociated', and after spread the proposals of 'political solution' of the question of the guerrilla's prisoners in exchange for the cessation of the armed struggle and the revolutionary activity.

The proposal of 'political solution' is included in what is the attempt of 'forced pacification' in West Europe, to eliminate the main 'internal enemy' of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to destroy the guerrilla and the revolutionary forces.

ITALIAN

TEXT

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This attempt, arranged at international level in the so-called 'anti-terrorism summits' and managed more and more directly by the secret services, aims to develop the psychological warfare also through the instrumental and counter-revolutionary use of certain prisoners who, in past times, were militants of the fighting revolutionary organizations. It aims to use the prisoners who abjure the present necessity of the guerrilla for attacking the revolutionaries who are still fighting.

It isn't a mystery for nobody that the Italian state has put itself as a vanguard in this attempt, giving precise advices to the other states in WestEurope. The message, which they want to make pass, is that of the supposed impossibility of a revolutionary outlet of the class-conflict; that of the supposed impracticability of the guerrilla in the central countries of the international capitalistic system.

They want the loyalism to the present political and social system, as a supposed ground for the solution of the class-conflicts. Yet this attempt cannot pass without a total destruction of the guerrilla and the revolutionary forces, without a destruction of the guerrilla's revolutionary strategy, just because this is the only strategy able to face the reached stage of the contemporary capitalism.

In this sight, the decision of making the trial for 'insurrection' had a certain logic from the counter-revolutionary point of view, by leave of whom, who had dealt it as an 'obsolete emergency's product'.

The trial for 'insurrection' should have been a moment of this attempt of counter-revolutionary pacification; should have been fit for re-throwing the putrescent debate about the 'political solution', with the aim of destroying the revolutionary identity of the prisoners of the guerrilla and of attacking whatever development's hypothesis of the guerrilla's strategy.

Already, in many other opportunities, we expressed our position, the position of the ER/PCC about the 'political solution'.

In this moment, we only want to add that for the revolutionary prisoners of the guerrilla, struggling for the liberation means struggling for the liberation of the whole proletariat from the oppression by the existent political and social system. As communists, we certainly don't disregard the revolutionary aim of the liberation of the guerrilla's prisoners shut up in the imperialism's prisons, but we think that one never can prescind from the general and particular balance of powers between revolution and imperialism and that only its change in our favour can make this slogan concrete.

The revolutionary well know that there are no exceptions to this rule, so as they well know that today every proposal of amnesty is inevitably used by the state acting as anti-guerrilla weapon.

~~Moreover~~ Moreover, we want to emphasize that, on international level also in the nearest countries, there is affirming the best answer which one can give to the latest attempts by the imperialist bourgeoisie to destroy the fighting communist and revolutionary forces.

In West Germany the radicalization of the RAF and the Resistance movement is strengthening. In Spain the fighting practice of the ETA and the GRAPO has started again; in North Ireland and abroad the struggle of the IRA is developing; in Greece the fighting practice by the organization '17 november' and other revolutionary and antimperialist organizations is going on; in Turkey the guerrilla by the DEV/SOL has started again, and the armed struggle by the Kurdish fighters of the PKK is

continuing; in Palestine, through the daily struggle and the uprising against the Israeli occupation forces, the embryo of a new political and social system is developing; besides being an example for the Arab masses oppressed by the puppet-regimes directed by the US, it's very important factor of strengthening for the revolutionary struggle in the world.

In Italy, our organization, the ER/PCC, after the hard strokes made by the counter-revolution against the whole revolutionary movement in 1982, was able to become adequate to the new, unfavourable situation by opening a phase of 'strategic retreat', which allowed to preserve the forces and construct the organizational and political terms which have been the basis of the revolutionary activity in all these years.

Inside this phase it was possible to maintain the revolutionary initiative at the level imposed by the evolution of the political-social scenery and of the required tasks, yet with the limits determined by the objective and subjective difficulties.

And it's always inside this phase that the neo-revisionist tendencies have been defeated. They aimed to denaturalize the political line of the organization, taking it back, to theoretical political positions already defeated by the development itself of the revolutionary debate which preceded the birth of the ER.

Today, the phase of the 'strategic retreat' isn't finished and the ER/PCC are working for the re-construction of the political-military terms of the class-war in this country, conscious of the limits imposed by the phase, but also of how much the ground determined by the contradictions accumulated by these 10 years of imperialist restructuration is fruitful for the revolutionary proposal.

Just in front of the problems set now by the class-conflict, the validity of the armed struggle strategy and of the strategical principles which our organization rests on, affirms itself once more. These principles are the attack to the heart of the state and the anti-imperialism as construction, at international level, of the ~~subjective favourable conditions~~ favourable subjective conditions for the revolution here and in other countries.

Today, the ER/PCC have given a clear indication of what is the project which the bourgeoisie of this country set at the center of its general politics in front of the stage reached by the imperialist restructuration.

The restructuration of the last decade changed the orders of the Italian economy and the relations between the classes in favour of the imperialist bourgeoisie, while the phase of crisis, begun at the end of the sixties, and the consequences of the technological development in terms of labour's international division, imposed the necessity of a mayor cohesion among the countries of West Europe.

Hence, for the bourgeoisie, it's necessary to adopt the political-institutional measures fit for strengthening the national and sovranational picture which they would find the solution to the present crisis in, and re-determine the conditions for the development of the system.

Setting ~~at the center~~ the project of institutional reforms at the center of the attack of our organization just meant this: individuating and attacking the central project which shall have to comprise, codi-

fied and institutionalized, the anti-proletarian policies which the bourgeoisie is taking on in these years, and those which shall have to range Italy to the more-developed, imperialist, West-european democracies.

The essence of the project is a general re-formulation of the powers of the state - beginning from the emphasisization of those of the executive - which shall have to make the decisions swifter and the sphere, put at the head of taking them, narrower, with a further emargination of the Parliament's functions. These decisions concern the militarist policy of Italy, in its role of fundamental pillar of the NATO's southern side, so as the anti-proletarian policies, e.g. those which aim at extending the capitalistic logic of the profit to sectors as the social services (health, transports, etc.), or those destined to reformulate the relations between class and state, and to corporativize the trade-unions.

DETERMINATION

The individuation and the attack against what we defined as the 'heart of the state' cannot be separate from the attack against the imperialism and its central structures.

For our organization, the antimperialism isn't empty solidarity, rather it's an essential part of our political line, aiming at constructing all the subjective conditions for the revolution, through the destabilization of the imperialist enemy in this area and at world-wide level.

With this logic and these aims, in all these years the ER/PCC pursued the aim of the construction of the Antimperialist Fighting Front in the area (WestEurope, Mediterranean, Middle East), as far as arriving to a first moment of concretization with the alliance between the RAF and the ER/PCC, as expressed by the mutual statement in september.

Other revolutionary organizations in this area fought in these years against the imperialism, and our organization pursues the enlargement and the consolidation of the Front, as important tool, in the hands of the revolutionaries, for reaching the maximum of effectiveness in the common struggle.

On the basis of these central lines and of the dialectic which occurs between them, the ER/PCC continue to work for the throwing down of this imperialist democracy, for the conquest of the political power by the proletariat, for affirming a new economic-social system which sets the man and his material and intellectual needs at the center.

This means struggling against the exploitation and the war-monger politics of the imperialism, but also against all the superstructural determinations which constitute a true imperialist culture: from the racism to the perpetuation and deepening of the woman's subordinate role; from the imposition of the western and capitalistic 'values', to the programmatic and scientific destruction of every cultural form which refuses the integration with them.

It means struggling against an extermination's system which, pursuing the capitalistic absolutization of the profit, denies the conditions themselves of the man's life, either through the direct destruction by hunger, wars and diseases, or through the destruction of the ambiental conditions which make the life possible.

It means struggling by the side of the Palestinians which are fighting against the sionism and by the side of all the revolutionaries

and the peoples which are struggling against the imperialism^{as}, in the peripheric countries, as in the hearth of the system and in the US themselves.

It means constructing the unity against the common enemy, beginning from the consolidation and the enlargement of the Antimperialist Fighting Front in this area.

It means struggling for the socialist revolution, for the communism.

Attacking and disarticulating the antiproletarian and counter-revolutionary project of 'reform' of the state.

Constructing and organizing the present terms of the class-war.

Attacking the central lines of the political cohesion of West Europe and the imperialist projects of normalization in the Middle East area, which pass on the skin of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Working for the alliances necessary to construct/consolidate the ~~Anti~~ Antimperialist Fighting Front with the aim of weakening ~~and destroying~~ the imperialism in this geopolitical area.

Honour to all the revolutionaries fallen fighting for the communism!

The militants of the Red Brigades
for the construction of the
Fighting Communist Party.

Sandro Padula
Franco Sincich

Rome, 18.5.89.

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